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- ART. X.—1. *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika.* Von FRANZ LÖHER. Cincinnati: Eggers und Wulkoss. Leipzig: K. F. Köhler. 1847.  
2. *Aussichten für gebildete Deutsche in Nord-Amerika.* Von FRANZ LÖHER. Berlin: Julius Springer. 1853.

THESE works are not generally known to Americans. Their author has enjoyed unusual advantages for learning the history and condition of those of his countrymen, who have exchanged the Old World for the New. His "History" gives evidence of careful and extensive research. His prejudices against America are undisguised, and therefore comparatively harmless. His propensity to extol everything German, and to decry everything American, leads him sometimes to a ridiculous exaggeration of the errors of our nation, and the merits of his own. His statistics and statements of historical fact are generally correct, though his deductions from them are erroneous. But the work gives a more complete history of German emigration to this country than any other which we know. The second work consists of a few lectures which were delivered in Berlin before the Emigration Society. They excited much interest in Germany, and are really well adapted to the end which the author proposes, "to dispel illusions, and to make clearer to those who are obliged to emigrate what they have to expect in the New World." The struggles and trials of the emigrants are depicted with spirit and truth; and a clearer view of the condition and prospects of our German population may be gained from this book than from its predecessor.

A large fraction of our people to-day speak German as their vernacular. A much larger number, respectable for talent, education, and influence, are of German descent. More than a hundred newspapers are printed in their language. For more than two centuries emigrants from Germany have been landing on our coast, and for the last few years more than two hundred thousand have annually been added to our population. Their presence has given rise to exciting and troubulous questions in politics, and has filled many a states-

man with the deepest anxiety. Some, however, believe that they have been guided to our land by a merciful Providence, as a blessing to us and the world. It is clear that the time has come when their movements, condition, and prospects should be carefully studied. So far as we are apprised, we now offer the first contribution which has ever been given in the English language towards the history of German emigration to America.

Certain German and Portuguese writers have contended that the American continent was discovered by a native of Nuremberg. It is affirmed that in 1483 Martin Behaim, a distinguished mathematician, astronomer, and navigator, who was in the service of John II., king of Portugal, reached the coast of Pernambuco, and took possession of it in the name of his sovereign. Löher does not hesitate to give full credence to this assertion, though Irving and other investigators have most clearly exposed its falsity.

It is true, however, that a colony of Germans were among the earliest settlers on our Western shores. One of those embarrassments, from which monarchs are no more exempted than subjects, occasioned their emigration. Charles V. found himself troubled on pay-day to meet the demands of his banker, Bartholomew Welser of Augsburg. He therefore bestowed on him Venezuela in South America. In 1526, Welser sent out from Spain three ships, and five hundred German adventurers, under the command of Ambrosius Alfinger, from Ulm. Nearly all the company perished in a search for gold mines. A trading-house was however established. Many Germans were attracted to the growing colony, and the Hanse towns were filled with glowing accounts of its brilliant prospects. But the torch of civil war was kindled in Germany, and the princely merchants of Augsburg became so straitened by adversity, that they were compelled to surrender their American possessions to the Spaniards. So perished the first purely German colony in America. But Germans came in great numbers with the Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese adventurers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The names of many ancient families in the West Indies, and in the Northern states of South America, point distinctly to a German ancestry.

The disasters consequent upon the Thirty Years' War gave the first great impulse to emigration from Germany. Families were severed by religious dissensions, crushed by the loss of property, and robbed of husbands and fathers. Towns were ravaged, cities were razed to the ground, and the land was a scene of utter desolation. The homeless sufferers were compelled to wander in every direction. They fled to Poland, Hungary, Russia, Norway, Sweden, France, Spain, England, and Holland. Their industry and mechanical skill insured them a cordial reception in every country of Europe. Holland, the shelter of the Puritans, was, in the seventeenth century, the asylum of the oppressed of every land. For thirty-five years previous to the peace of Münster, the Dutch had been settling at New Amsterdam, and upon the banks of the Hudson. It was natural that the houseless Germans, who flocked to Holland, should be allured by the brilliant hopes which our Western world then presented to the exiled and suffering. The Dutch encouraged emigration. They furnished the settlers with clothing, provisions, and seed-corn, which were to be paid for by future harvests. They promised also freedom of conscience. Many Germans were thus attracted to our shores. They settled on Long Island and on the banks of the Hudson. Although the Dutch had promised a most catholic toleration of every faith, it seems that the Lutherans were compelled to worship in their private houses, until New Amsterdam became New York. These settlers made vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to cultivate the vine.

As early as 1638, we find the Swedes on their way to America, accompanied by many Germans. They settled together on the most friendly terms on the banks of the Delaware. High German was the language of educated Swedes; and German pastors were often settled over Swedish churches in these new colonies.

In 1681 William Penn landed in America, and founded his peaceful colony. During the three following years, his settlement was increased by thousands of English, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, and Germans. Among the latter were the remnants of a persecuted sect, whose tenets and sufferings

might well entitle them to the warmest sympathy of the followers of Penn. They were the disciples of Menno Simon. He was a monk from Friesland, who, after many an inward struggle, had become an Evangelical preacher, and had gathered about him a loyal band, attached to his peaceful and innocent faith. They maintained that a change of heart should precede baptism, and that Christ had forbidden the use of weapons and of oaths. These inoffensive doctrines were stamped as heterodox, and there was no rest on the soil of Germany for their unfortunate recipients. They took refuge in the Netherlands and in Switzerland. But in 1671 Bern and Zürich imprisoned, whipped, and branded their preachers, and several hundred families fled to Alsace and the Palatinate. Here, in 1677, Penn visited and cheered them ; and doubtless, after the maturing of his plans for settlement in America, he invited them to follow him thither.

In the August subsequent to the arrival of the Mennonites, there landed on the bank of the Delaware about twenty German families, under the guidance of Franz Daniel Pastorius, of whom Penn speaks as "an honest, upright, wise, and pious man." They came from Frankfort on the Main. They purchased of Penn a large tract of land, and founded Germantown. Its government was in every respect on the model of the towns in their native land, with a burgomaster, magistracy, and council. The good Pastorius held at once its highest civil and its highest spiritual office. The town soon lost its German form of government; but it has ever retained the character for order and thrift which it acquired through its earnest and high-minded founders.

The stream of emigration, which was now flowing steadily to the mouth of the Delaware and of the Hudson, soon received a fresh impulse from devastating wars in the Palatinate. Twice did the French entirely lay waste that lovely land. The penniless fugitives eagerly sought comfort and peace on our inviting shores. In 1709 came that awful winter, when hundreds of strong men lay down to die of hunger and cold in the fruitful valley of the Rhine. A report was circulated among the sufferers that Queen Anne of England would furnish all applicants with a free passage to

America, and there give them land to cultivate. The famishing multitudes caught at this last hope for life, and opening spring saw their crowded vessels floating up the Thames. More than thirty thousand of these Germans encamped in the suburbs of London. The inhabitants were in dismay at the sight of this multitude, destitute of money, food, and comfortable clothing, and unable to speak or understand English. The German preachers, the Quakers, and other benevolent citizens, endeavored to minister to their wants. But to many an Englishman the name of German was synonymous with that of Roman Catholic, and that of Roman Catholic with all that was odious and contemptible. Insults were therefore heaped on the sufferers more plentifully than charities. The summer wore away, and still nothing was done for them. As winter drew nigh, their condition attracted the attention of Parliament. About thirty-five hundred Roman Catholics were sent back to Holland and the Hanse towns. Sixteen hundred of the remainder were carried to the Scilly Isles, but were driven away by the inhabitants, for whom these barren rocks afforded but a scanty subsistence. These, with two thousand others, were returned to Germany. About four thousand are said to have been sent to Limerick County in Ireland, where they distinguished themselves by the excellence of their agriculture. Of the rest of this ill-fated company, some were scattered through Great Britain, others found their way to their homes, and others still to their original destination in America. About five thousand came to New York with Governor Hunter, in 1710, and settled in the city, and on the banks of the Hudson. They alleged that they suffered from Hunter's extortions, and several families purchased lands from the Indians on the Schoharie. Their title to these lands was soon contested, and they were obliged once more to seek new homes. Many of the towns near the Hudson and the Mohawk owed their existence to these wandering immigrants. Newburg, Luneburg, Germantown, Wurtemburg, Minden, Bern, Brunswick, and others, betray by their names a German origin.

Some of those who were aggrieved by Hunter's course accepted the invitation of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania

to settle on the Swatara. It has been suspected that Keith had thought of founding an independent German-Irish state in the interior of his province. However that may have been, he offered every facility for the removal of these disaffected emigrants. They and their descendants have ever maintained a high reputation for probity and industry.

Companies of Germans from the Palatinate found their way to Virginia and the Carolinas. One of them established a town called Germanna on the site of Fredericksburg. Others occupied the lands on the Roanoke, Neuse, and Trent rivers. Newbern and the circumjacent country were filled with Germans, who were chiefly from Switzerland.

In the year 1710 began another emigration of the persecuted Mennonites of Switzerland. Nearly all who had previously arrived had settled in Germantown and the vicinity. But in 1707 the Swiss sent a deputation to purchase lands in their name. They secured ten thousand acres on the stream called the Pequea. In 1711, 1717, 1727, and 1728 the families came in great numbers. The valley of the Conestoga was soon required and purchased, and Lancaster County became the home of the Mennonites in America. They were generally possessed of some wealth and of a respectable education.

The Mennonites were followed by the Tunkers.\* This sect had been driven from their home in Southern Germany to Holland and Friesland, whence a part of them came with Beissel in 1719, and the remainder with Mack in 1729, and settled near Germantown and Lancaster. Many of their descendants are now found in Virginia.

In 1734 about one hundred families came from Silesia by the way of Altona and Holland to Pennsylvania. Persecution had banished them from their homes. They were the

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\* This sect dates its existence from 1708. Five men and three women, in a little village of the Palatinate, conceived it to be their duty to retire to a cloister, and devote their lives to prayer and the study of the Scriptures. One of the first fruits of their retirement was the conviction of the necessity of immersion as the only true baptism. They were called Tunkers or Dunkards, because they required the candidate for baptism to kneel, and then they thrust his head and body forward into the water. The German word *tunken* means to dip or thrust in. They soon added to their creed the doctrine that Saturday is the true Sabbath.

followers of Caspar Schwenckfeld, an earnest man, who boldly opposed certain doctrines of the Lutherans, which he maintained that they had erroneously transferred from the Roman Catholic creed. These doctrines pertain to the humanity of Christ, the Lord's supper, and the inner light.

So early as 1732, a few Herrnhutters were found in Pennsylvania. Count Zinzendorf had in their behalf agreed with General Oglethorpe that they should join the company which first went to Georgia. They arrived in England just after its departure, and therefore resolved to settle in the colony of Penn. But in the winter of 1735–6 one hundred and seventy Moravians were conveyed to Savannah in the same vessel with Oglethorpe, Wesley, and Whitefield. Above Savannah these Germans built a town, which they called Ebenezer. Their memory deserves to be cherished for their humane treatment of the Indians, and for their persistent and earnest opposition to slavery. They were subjected to continual annoyances from their neighbors, and they at last decided to turn their steps to a home where they could hope for the peaceful enjoyment of their faith. In 1738 they removed to Pennsylvania, and founded near Easton a school for negroes, which was the first, and for a long time the only one, in America. They were disturbed by the Indians, and in 1740 they withdrew still further into the wilderness, and commenced the towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth, which were so long known in the Old World and the New as their centre and strong-hold.

The great body of these earlier emigrants had come from the valley of the Rhine, from Switzerland, and from Swabia,\* and had settled in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Northern Maryland. Those of kindred sympathies and pursuits had naturally gathered together. The town of Reading in Pennsylvania was almost exclusively composed of Lutherans, and Lancaster of Mennonites. The members of the Reformed Church found a congenial home in New York with their brethren from Holland. The Roman Catho-

\* The old proverb runs:—

“Schwaben und bös Geld  
Führt der Teufel in alle Welt.”

lies were attracted to Baltimore, though many chose Berks County as their home. The types of religious character in these several places have not been essentially changed, and many of the peculiarities of the original settlers are plainly perceptible in their descendants at this day. But many a poor German had not the good fortune to secure a home in the genial climate and on the fertile soil of the Middle States. The simple Alsatians and Swabians were too unsuspecting to distrust the promises of Law, the great speculator in Mississippi lands. About two thousand were enticed by his agents to Biloxi near Mobile, and to the marshes near the mouth of the Mississippi, where they soon fell a prey to devouring fevers. Nearly as many were planted in St. Charles Parish, above New Orleans. They gave the names to the Lac Allemand and the Bayou Allemand.

In 1729 a band of mountaineers, who since the Reformation had preserved a faith of comparative purity in the secluded valleys of the Tyrolese Alps, were driven from their homes by the Jesuits. After various wanderings, they landed at Savannah in the spring of 1734, and were settled by Oglethorpe himself in the deserted home of the Herrnhutters in Effingham County. They had good success in raising indigo and manufacturing silk. Like the Moravians, they opposed negro slavery with their whole power, and gave a practical proof that free labor could compete with the labor of slaves in that sultry climate.

In 1733 Colonel Peter Pury purchased forty thousand acres of land in Beaufort County, South Carolina, and with three hundred and seventy Swiss founded the town of Purisburg. In 1765 six hundred men from South Germany arrived and settled on the Santee, Congaree, and Savannah rivers. In North Carolina, Stokes, Lincoln, and Mecklenburg Counties received many Germans, some of whom had removed from Pennsylvania. In 1751 the Moravians purchased one hundred thousand acres of land, and laid out Wachau. In the following year they founded Bethabara, and many of them chose Salem and Bethany as their homes. Between 1730 and 1740 the fertile lands in the great valley of Virginia and in Northern Maryland were taken by Germans, and the pres-

ent population of that beautiful region is almost entirely composed of their descendants.

In New England we find traces of only a single early German settlement. In 1739 a party purchased land of General Waldo in Waldoborough, Maine, and in 1751 their numbers were strengthened by the arrival of fifteen hundred of their countrymen. After the death of Waldo, their title to their land was contested. They abandoned their homes, and went to Orangeburg, South Carolina. Ninety families afterwards returned. It is said that their pastor preached in German as late as the beginning of this century.

The most northern settlement of Germans was in Nova Scotia. These emigrants were from Westphalia and Lower Saxony. They came in 1769, and chose Halifax, Annapolis, and Lunenburg for their residence. They landed during the Indian summer, "and," says one of them, "as they saw the forests clad in their autumnal glory, and the outlines of the distant hills softened by the drapery of mist, they flattered themselves that they had reached an earthly paradise."

Such was the course of German emigration prior to the Revolution. It is impossible to determine the number of our German citizens at the commencement of the war. But we know the general features of their character. Many of them had come hither "for conscience' sake." They were peaceful and industrious, and sought only a quiet home for themselves and their children. It is true that they waged prolix and verbose sectarian wars, as fiercely as did our New England ancestors. But they readily conformed to the requirements of the provincial governments, and added to the wealth, prosperity, and virtue of the infant colonies. Not a few were men of eminent intelligence, piety, and usefulness. Between 1745 and 1770 no less than twenty-two Lutheran preachers, who had received their training at German universities, came to Pennsylvania alone. That State rivalled New England in the excellence, though not in the number, of its schools. Pupils flocked from distant parts of the land to Ephratah, Lancaster, and Philadelphia. The labors of the Herrnhutters among the negroes in Georgia and the Indians in Pennsylvania, at once recall to our memory the pious and self-denying work of Eliot

and Edwards. The Germans in Pennsylvania have, from the earliest times, protested against slavery; and the Moravians and Salzburgers, who deserted their homes near Savannah, are fairly entitled to be honored as the first Abolitionists who showed their faith by their works. In some branches of industry the Germans excelled all the other colonists. In agriculture, in raising cattle, in forging iron, in the manufacture of linen, and in every kind of labor where patience and care were required, they were especially successful.

But some of their number were rough and unscrupulous adventurers, who were steeped in all the vices of a soldier's life in Europe. Others were simple-minded peasants, who had been enticed to America by organized bands of villains. The agents of these companies contrived to strip them of their property, and then bound them out to service for a term of years to pay for their passage.\* It is not strange that these poor victims of fraud were often regardless of all law in seeking to alleviate their condition. At an early date we find the clergy of the older churches and grave and thoughtful statesmen alike complaining of the turbulence and presumption of many of the German settlers. But it is probable that most of their excesses arose from that natural tendency to license which is always observed in the subjects of a despotic government when they first escape from restraint.

In the war of the Revolution the Germans were, with great unanimity, attached to the republican party. They were bound by no ties to England. They had there no kindred or friends. As early as 1748, an acute Swedish traveller, Kalm, had observed that the indifference or dislike of the Germans, Dutch, and French towards England was one of the sure signs of a coming day of American independence. It is true that, in some sections, the mutual hatred of the English and the German colonists seemed at first to threaten the stability of a hearty union for any purpose. The rivalry

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\* "So usual was this manner of dealing in Englishmen, that not the Scots only, who were taken in the field of Dunbar, were sent into involuntary servitude in New England, but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester, and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddoc, in spite of the remonstrances of Haselrig and Harry Vane, were shipped to America." (Baneroff, Vol. I. pp. 175, 176.) Thus it appears that a kind of white slavery was not unknown in America.

between them in Pennsylvania led to the formation of parties, which contended hotly for the mastery in the government of the Province. So early as 1729 a newspaper called the *Pennsylvanisch-deutsche Berichter* was issued at Germantown, which declared the policy of the government illiberal and unjust, and attacked its measures with earnestness and bitterness. The war was carried on with acrimony and varied success for many years, and the prejudices which prevailed at that day are not yet entirely extinct. In no other part of the country were the Germans so numerous, and their relations to the English so unfriendly. But even there all differences were at last forgotten in devotion to the common cause, and the troops from that State and Virginia were true in the darkest days of our national struggle. That famous band, the Sharp-Shooters of Morgan, had many Germans in its ranks. Muhlenberg and his German regiment from the valley of Virginia are never to be forgotten in the annals of our Revolution. The Freiherr von Glassbeck played a conspicuous part in the Southern campaign; and the names of Kalb and Steuben are ever associated with those of Washington and Greene. The valor and fidelity which the Germans displayed throughout our long and arduous conflict entitle them to a place in our memory by the side of our purest and noblest patriots. It is a singular fact, that hundreds of the Hessians who fought in the English ranks became American citizens. Those who were taken prisoners were kindly treated, and invited to settle. Nearly sixteen hundred, who were glad to escape from the rigorous discipline of the British army, found for themselves homes in the valley of Virginia. Those who were captured at Saratoga were ordered to Charlottesville, and thence they were scattered through the State.

The earnest opposition of Americans to foreign influence, the stringent naturalization laws of 1798, and the continual wars which were devastating Europe, checked emigration for several years. While Germany was under French rule, but few emigrants from the Continent reached our shores. Many who were here followed in the train of the more adventurous New-Englanders, and sought a new home in the forests of Ohio and the prairies of Indiana. But in 1815, after the

power of Napoleon was crushed, the poor and suffering followed in the steps of those who had found relief in our provinces at the close of the Thirty Years' War. In 1816, the ports of Holland were filled with Germans, who were waiting for a passage. In 1817, it seemed as if Southern Germany was soon to be depopulated. In a single fortnight, four thousand persons left the little state of Baden. Wurtemberg lost in that year sixteen thousand of her inhabitants by emigration. The sufferings of many were extreme. Thousands who reached the sea-shore, ignorant and friendless, had not the means to secure their transportation to America. Sick with disappointment, and wasted by hunger, they were obliged to turn back and look to charity for a scanty subsistence, till they reached their desolate homes. In 1818, the number who passed through Holland was greater than had ever been known. In the year 1825 happened the great overflow of the Rhine, which was succeeded by a scanty harvest, and a winter of intense severity. This combination of calamities forced multitudes to seek a new home. In vain did several states throw obstacles in their way, and others forbid their departure. More than ten thousand landed in New York in one year (1827-28), and quite as many more in Philadelphia and Baltimore. But all did not sail for the United States. Small parties went to Canada, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Colombia, Mexico, and even to St. Domingo.

Meanwhile the facilities for emigration were continually increasing. Vessels were constructed to serve expressly as passenger ships. Books, newspapers, and letters from America furnished more accurate information about the land, of which very little had really been known even by the most intelligent Germans. Emigration societies were formed. Every one knew but too well, that at home the best years of one's life were spent in the barracks, that taxation and oppression were consuming his lifeblood, that all were doomed to hopeless poverty. Every one heard that in America no one was obliged to serve as a soldier for more than a week in a year, that the tax-gatherer seldom visited the cabin of the settler, and that a competence might be attained by all. These were simple facts, whose bearing could be seen by the hum-

blest peasant, and they were more convincing than elaborate expositions of the theoretical beauty of republican government. Posters announcing the departure of vessels from Bremen, Holland, and Havre were placed on the walls of every village and town. The family circle and the beer-house resounded with discussions on the great topic of the day. Hundreds were often seen in a single day making their way down the Rhine. One could read in their manly faces, that the eager expectation of youth, and the buoyant hope of maturer manhood, were tempered and softened by that ardent love of home which is never found wanting in the breast of the roughest German.

According to Löher's statistics, more than two hundred and sixteen thousand sailed from Bremen between the years 1832 and 1846; and during the same time, nearly two hundred and ten thousand Germans from all ports landed in New York alone. About ninety-five per cent of all who left Germany came to the United States. Since 1846, the emigration has greatly increased. The revolution and reaction of 1848 sent forth a large number of political exiles and refugees. The arrivals between 1846 and 1855 averaged at least one hundred thousand annually. The Eastern war and the Know-Nothing excitement have materially checked the flow of emigration to our shores for the present. No one can predict what will be its movement in the unseen future. Most of those who have come in later years have gone to the Western and Northwestern States. Many have settled in Texas, and some of them are there proving the feasibility of employing free labor alone, as did the Moravians in Georgia.

Ardent and enthusiastic Germans in our country have but lately relinquished the idea of establishing here a "Junges Deutschland," or, in other words, of forming a free German state. Many thought, before the Revolution, that they might gain the mastery in Pennsylvania, and mould her institutions in accordance with their will. Again and again, did they strive to introduce their language into the schools, the courts of law, and the legislature of that State. Societies have even been formed in Germany for founding a state on our western frontiers. The most famous of these came from

Giessen. So fully were its plans prepared, that it brought a large bell for the *Stadt Haus*, and a telescope for the observatory. Scarcely had it reached its destination, when it was suddenly dissolved. The bell was left to grace a barn, and the telescope a log-cabin. *Ex uno discet omnes.* A society in New York, called "Germania," was for some time the most active agent in arousing the national feeling of our Germans. The avowed object of its formation was to furnish relief to suffering exiles, and to send expressions of sympathy and "material aid" to revolutionists in Germany. As no revolution occurred, the exuberant enthusiasm of the members was naturally turned in another direction. They resolved to become the founders of a state. Associations were formed in several cities to aid in accomplishing their magnificent undertaking. The newspaper at Pittsburg, the *Adler des Westens*, duly set forth the greatness and worth of the enterprise. The New York *Staats Zeitung* was soon started expressly for the purpose of Germanizing the Americanized Germans. Everything seemed bright with promise. But, alas! the birth of the expected state is not yet chronicled. The rulers of the unborn sovereignty could not agree where it ought to be situated. Some wished it to be near the Great Lakes; others, in Texas; others still, in Oregon. Congress settled their dispute by refusing them lands for it anywhere. At this juncture, the *Staats Zeitung* caught the American passion for politics, and exerted its strength in securing the election of a Democratic President, instead of aiding to create a state over which a German President might rule at some future day. Those who were indignant at its course protested against its treachery, and established the *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung* to represent the pure Germanic interests. But it perished in the violent conflicts which exploded the "Germania," and so ended the great effort in New York.

Meantime the Pennsylvanians were pursuing a different course. They decided that it was expedient to turn a flood of emigration into some one of the Western States, acquire a majority of votes, and then introduce German institutions, and, above all, the German language. For this end the Philadelphia journal, *Die Alte und Neue Welt*, labored most

untiringly. But the measure proved impracticable. The next step was to repeat the attempt to gain added power in Pennsylvania. By associations, appeals, contributions, and petitions, they sought to place their language on the same footing with the English. In October, 1837, in accordance with invitations which were issued from Philadelphia, forty delegates from six States met in Pittsburg to devise some plan of action. But when did forty German legislators ever agree? They proposed magnificent schemes, which were wholly impracticable. They made bombastic speeches on the great importance of entire unanimity, and then dissolved in a quarrel. Their most important act was the adoption of a resolution, which declared that the German language ought to be admitted in the courts, and that the laws ought to be published in German, whenever it was necessary and compatible with the interests of the country. A fruitless meeting was held in the same place in 1838. Twenty-eight delegates afterwards assembled at Philadelphia, and resolved that the national spirit could be preserved only by the proper education of the youth. They therefore founded an institution of learning, which was to expand into the full proportions of a German university. But alas! Minerva gave way to Bacchus. The temple of learning was soon sold to a brewer. "German science moved out, and German beer moved in." Such was the result of the last systematic attempt to perpetuate the nationality of the Germans in America. The most sanguine are forced to believe that it is utterly impossible; the prudent and sagacious are fully aware that it is entirely undesirable.

It is a striking peculiarity of German emigration, that it has never added territory to Germany. Her sons are found in every land, but her flag waves only over her original soil. Sweden, Holland, and England have invited the Germans to join their colonists, and have profited by their industry and skill. The land which bore them alone has received nothing from their lives. It drove them out by wars and oppression. It did not follow them with protecting care to distant and desolate shores. Its maternal love did not come to their aid in their arduous struggles in the wilderness, and they never

brought to its bosom the fruits of their labors and conquests. History seems to confirm the truth of the proverb, that the German is the servant of all, and the master of none.

We believe that the condition of the great mass of emigrants is essentially improved by removal to America. They are, for the most part, farmers, mechanics, and laborers. The cheapness and fertility of our Western lands insure a good home to the tiller of the soil, and the high wages of the last two classes soon raise them above the destitution to which they are subjected in Germany. But the advantage to which all of them look is the hopeful career which is opened to their children in American life. So long is the novitiate which every boy in Germany must pass to attain any post of influence or promise, so many are his competitors, and so numerous are the obstacles which government throws in his path, that the fairest years of his life are lost in drudgery and obscurity. But here the boy blooms at once into manhood. The highest prizes are within his reach. Every impulse is stirred. His only obstacles are in himself; and if he but faithfully strive, success must crown him with her fairest garlands. These visions hover over the poor wanderers on their long and dreary voyage, and color every hardship with their bright and radiant hues. The German merchants who are found in our cities accumulate fortunes with rapidity. He who was the wealthiest man in America was born on the soil of Germany. German physicians of sterling worth receive the consideration which they merit, and the numerous quacks and impostors, who substitute unpronounceable names for solid attainments, reap a richer harvest than they ever dreamed of at home. Those alone really suffer who are too lazy or too proud to do the work for which they are suited. They complain that America offers no inducements to educated men; that it is too utilitarian for their æsthetic and speculative natures; that muscle and sinew may live, but genius must inevitably starve in our money-getting nation. Many a professor of the humanities drags out a few months of miserable existence on our shores, and then returns to add another to the list of books in which malecontents pour out their vials of wrath on our innocent heads.

We should hardly notice these charges, if they were not generally believed by intelligent men in Germany. We venture to assert, that no one was ever excluded from our country on account of his elegant learning or refined culture. Most of the unfortunate Germans who proclaim themselves martyrs to our stern utilitarianism have sought posts as lecturers or teachers in our institutions of learning. It is one of our wise regulations, (which is not always observed in Germany,) to require unexceptionable habits in the man who takes charge of any department of instruction. The standard by which habits are judged is of course our own. Now many a German of profound learning utterly ignores this fact, and retains all his peculiarities of life, which may have been uncriticised at home, but which are deemed censurable here. He consequently loses his place. Let such men conform to our customs, and they never will lack patronage. Others have great difficulty in acquiring our language, and while yet they can scarcely be comprehended, they set out for home, with many an imprecation, in unintelligible English, on the nation which thus suffers genius to pass away neglected. Let them master our tongue, let them prepare for the posts to which they aspire, and they shall have no cause for complaint. In fact, the demand for men of high culture is unlimited. In science, the arts, the learned professions, everywhere, we have room. But he who has not the good sense to adapt himself to our social habits and our modes of thought must certainly fail. He really demands that we shall become Germanized in order that he may live. The merchants and mechanics have seen the folly of such an idea. They are fully Americanized in their business relations. They are divided by the same political and religious questions which divide us all into various parties. They are Whigs or Democrats, Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery, Lutherans or Calvinists, Deists or Atheists. They gathered under our banners in the battles of the Revolution, and they helped to plant them victoriously in the capital of Mexico. They are joined by the dearest of all earthly ties to our brothers and sisters, and their blood and ours flow together in the veins of thousands of fair-haired boys and girls. The lines which divided the races in the first generation are

obliterated in the second, and the son of a poor emigrant from the Rhine surpasses in American enthusiasm the descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It is painful to think that the measure of liberty which has proved so congenial to the industry and enterprise of the Germans, has also permitted the excessive development of some of the worst tendencies in their character. Errors which only germinated on the Continent, here bear the most poisonous fruit. License reaches the most daring recklessness and profanity. Vice swells into shameless crime. Democracy becomes lawlessness, and virtue but a name. The earnest and industrious mechanic of Nuremberg grows into the tumultuous haranguer and street-fighter of New York. The wayward boy of Stuttgart is the brawler and ruffian in Philadelphia. The free-thinker of Tübingen is here an editor, who regards none of the courtesies of our life, nor any of our most hallowed customs and beliefs. This is no exaggeration. Many a German is amazed and grieved at the great moral contrast between multitudes of immigrants and the quiet citizens of his ancient home. The cause is apparent. The tares are suffered to grow with the wheat. No hundred-handed police represses every budding vice. Even the reaction, which is natural after escape from governmental oppression, is not at all checked. Moreover, the wave of emigration always carries on its bosom many of the outcasts, who are bound by no ties to any place or institution. It is also well known that many of the workhouses and jails of Germany have cast their incorrigible and desperate inmates upon our shores. But the great cause of the apparent moral inferiority of many of our Germans to those in their native land is undoubtedly the unbounded liberty which is granted to all. Here thought becomes act; there it is locked in the breast. We fear that, if republican freedom were granted to Germany to-day, a part of her inhabitants would abandon themselves to a license which has never disgraced New York or Philadelphia.

There is a marked difference in the present condition of the emigrants who have come at different periods. Most of the descendants of those who arrived before 1815 are thoroughly Americanized, and are not to be distinguished in any respect

from other American citizens. A class called the Pennsylvania Germans form a remarkable exception. Most of them reside in some of the eastern counties of the State from which they take their name. They preserve the old Frankish dress and customs. Time seems to have advanced a century without bearing them onward. They know little of the world. Their knowledge of Germany is limited to the vague idea that wine is cheaper and life merrier there than in America. Their strongest passions are love of beer and hatred of the Irish. It is difficult to decide whether German, Dutch, or English is the predominant element in their language. It is almost unintelligible to a German. They seem to be anchored in the past, unmoved by the rapid stream of American life which rushes by them on every side.

The emigrants who came between 1815 and 1845 were comparatively uneducated. Only few men of culture and influence were comprised in their ranks. But the diffusion of political intelligence and the longing for republican government prompted many men of liberal and enlightened views to remove to America even before the Revolution of 1848; and after the close of that tragicomedy thousands were obliged to flee from their homes for safety. These were not alone the poor and helpless, but a large proportion of their number were possessed of moderate wealth, and of good education and talent. Among them were the most intellectual and accomplished of our German population. But among them were also too many of those turbulent and restless spirits, who are always evoked from obscurity by civil commotions. Representatives of every description of German society have been scattered by this last emigration throughout our large cities and the Western States. They are divided into classes that cherish the intensest hatred for one another. The Republicans have a deadly hostility to the Roman Catholics, and many of them dislike the Lutherans almost as bitterly. They regard the established churches of Germany as the greatest enemies to civil liberty, and they stamp kingcraft and priestcraft with a common brand of infamy. The Germans are almost unanimously opposed to slavery, and to any prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. As a class, they have always been

attached to the Democratic party, though a respectable minority has ever been found in the opposite ranks. The great majority of the wealthy and educated are atheists or rationalists. They have the control of nearly half of the German newspapers in the land.

What will be the effect upon our institutions and character of the great influx of German immigrants, it is difficult to say. Our experience gives us almost unlimited confidence in our power to fuse heterogeneous elements into one harmonious whole. The Germans have thus far received our laws, our language, and most of our habits. We have been but slightly influenced by them. Our legislation cannot be materially moulded by their efforts. They have not the power to accomplish any great political undertaking. Besides, we confide in the sober sense of the thoughtful Germans. They see that conformity to the spirit and genius of our institutions is their highest duty and good. Their interests are identical with ours; therefore our language and customs are best suited to their needs. They may cherish the hallowed memories of their fatherland, they may study its sublime philosophy, they may enjoy its inimitable poesy, they may sing its thrilling songs, they may admire its learning and its arts, they may even speak its rich and expressive language, and still they may live in faithful allegiance to that Constitution which has so kindly sheltered them in their flight from tyranny, and in their struggles from poverty to opulence. They may labor for the maintenance of their genial life, but the idea of establishing a German republic within the limits of our country is exploded for ever. Such are the views of their ablest journals and their experienced men.

But the irreligious influence of thousands of German infidels must be perceptibly felt by the children who come after them. They grow up as Americans, and it is sad to think of the heavy cloud which will rest on their hearts. That is a grave subject of meditation for the Christian patriot.

If the Germans in America will only be true to the higher and more generous impulses of their nature, if they will cultivate those tastes and perpetuate those customs which lend so many charms to social life in Germany, they may prove of

essential advantage to the land which has ever extended to them the hand of friendship and hospitality. Already they are elevating our musical taste. If they will kindle within us an appreciating love of heaven-born Art, they will atone for many of the excesses by which they have awakened our solicitude. Well will it be, if we can unite to our resistless energy something of their unyielding and unfaltering patience. Well will it be, if we can temper our burning passion for the acquirement of wealth by something of that genial and refreshing spirit which stops in its hastiest flights after riches and honor to admire an image of the True and the Beautiful.

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#### ART. XI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Indian Legends and other Poems.* By MARY GARDINER HORSFORD. New York : J. C. Derby. 1855.

THE author of these poems has been for some time known as a contributor to various literary journals. Her compositions have attracted attention by their grace of style and flowing versification, as well as by the earnestness of tone and the purity of Christian sentiment which are their leading characteristics. If we were to sum up the merits of them in one word, that word would be *womanly*. We are pleased to see these pieces brought together in a handsome volume. The lovers of poetry will be glad to preserve them in so attractive a form; and we doubt not the reader of taste and sensibility will dwell upon these tender and musical outpourings of a graceful imagination and feeling heart, with deep and gratified interest.

The volume consists of two parts, "Indian Legends," and "Miscellaneous" pieces. Of the former, there are four poems, embodying striking traditions of the red race. The following lines close the piece called "The Laughing Water."

" And often when the night  
Has drawn her shadowy veil,  
And solemn stars look forth  
Serenely pure and pale,  
A spectre bark and form  
May still be seen to glide,  
In wondrous silence down  
The Laughing Water's tide.